

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 055312  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 FEA-01 ERDA-05 AID-05 CEA-01  
CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 EB-08 FPC-01 H-01 INR-07  
INT-05 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OMB-01 PM-04 USIA-06  
OES-06 SP-02 SS-15 STR-04 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 PA-01  
PRS-01 /115 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPE:DHSWARTZ/EUR/SOV:WEDGAR:RP

APPROVED BY EUR - MR. HARTMAN

EUR/RPM:JMARESCA

S/P:PKAPLAN

IO/IEP:LKAHN

EB/ITP/EWT:HCLARKE

EB/ORF/FSE:RMARTIN

OES/ENP/EN:HSPIELMAN

-----121341Z 012236 /44

P R 120119Z MAR 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

USMISSION OECD PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 055312

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECE, CSCE, PFOR, UR, SENV, ETRN, ENRG

SUBJECT: CSCE BASKET II: SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONGRESSES ON ENERGY, TRANSPORT, AND ENVIRONMENT

1. THIS MESSAGE SETS OUT OUR STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH SOVIET CONGRESSES INITIATIVE AT ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE (ECE) 32ND ANNUAL SESSION APRIL 19-29. WE WOULD LIKE TO ENCOURAGE A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT AT MARCH 21 NATO ECONADS BASKET II MEETING AND, HOPEFULLY, REACH CONSENSUS WITH OUR ALLIES ON COMMON APPROACH TO IT AT ECE SESSION. ACCORDINGLY, ACTION EMBASSIES REQUESTED TO TRANSMIT TEXT OF DISCUSSION PAPER IN PARAS. 3-11 BELOW ASAP TO APPROPRIATELY SENIOR WORKING LEVEL OFFICIALS IN MFA, NOTING THAT WE HOPE TO HAVE A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF ISSUE AT ECONADS MEETING AND THAT WE EXPECT ALLIES TO COME FORWARD WITH THEIR OWN SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO HANDLE THIS ISSUE. USNATO SHOULD CIRCULATE OUR POSITION TO OTHER ECONADS AND BILLY WITH SAME COMMENT. USEC SHOULD INFORM APPROPRIATE COMMISSION OFFICIALS, NOTING THE UPCOMING NATO DISCUSSIONS. GENEVA SHOULD PASS OUR THOUGHTS TO ECE MISSIONS OF NATO ALLIES, NOTING THAT FOLLOWING NATO TALKS WE WOULD EXPECT THIS ISSUE TO BE AIRED IN WESTERN CAUCUS WELL IN ADVANCE OF ECE MEETING.

2. FYI ONLY.

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A. OUR THINKING ON THIS SUBJECT HAS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT FOLLOWING FACTORS:

--ECE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANOVNIK'S SUGGESTION (IN DOCUMENT E/ECE/911 OF 1/13/77) THAT ECE MINISTERIALS MIGHT BE HELD IN VARIOUS FIELDS, INCLUDING ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT, AND ENERGY;

--INDICATIONS THAT EC NINE AND COMMISSION FAVOR DEFLECTING SOVIET PROPOSAL BY RESPONDING FAVORABLY TO STANOVNIK'S IDEA (SEE EC BRUSSELS 2282, 1478, AND 1212, AND LONDON 3620, ALL NOTAL);

--FACT THAT FINLAND (ALLEGEDLY SUPPORTED BY AUSTRIA AND SWEDEN) HAS ALREADY TOLD STANOVNIK IT ACCEPTS ENVIRONMENT PORTION OF SOVIET IDEA (76 GENEVA 9196 NOTAL), AND THAT SOME ALLIES INDICATED AT OCTOBER ECONADS BASKET II MEETING THEIR RELUCTANCE TO REJECT SOVIET PROPOSAL OUTRIGHT (76 USNATO 5741 NOTAL).

--THE POSSIBILITY THAT BREZHNEV WILL MENTION SUBJECT DURING THE SECRETARY'S UPCOMING MOSCOW VISIT.

B. AT THE SAME TIME IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT:

--THE SOVIET PROPOSALS, AS EXPLAINED TO DATE, DO NOT APPEAR TO BE IN US OR WESTERN INTEREST;

--EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, INCLUDING BASKET II, HAS BEEN FAIRLY MINIMAL TO DATE, ESPECIALLY IN FREER MOVEMENT AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO US AND WEST; AND

--THE SOVIET CONGRESSES PROPOSAL SHOULD ALSO BE VIEWED IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF BROADER CSCE ISSUES, INCLUDING THE EASTERN CRACKDOWN ON DISSIDENTS AND RELATED EAST-WEST CONFIDENTIAL

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DIFFERENCES OVER HUMAN RIGHTS. END FYI ONLY.

### 3. DISCUSSION PAPER

THE CONCLUSION THE ALLIES ARRIVED AT LAST YEAR ON THE BREZHNEV PROPOSAL, NAMELY THAT IT WAS ESSENTIALLY A PROPAGANDA PLOY DESIGNED TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF MEANINGFUL BASKET II COOPERATION WHILE DIVERTING WORLD ATTENTION FROM EASTERN NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF MORE SENSITIVE CSCE PROVISIONS, IS STILL VALID. THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD REPEATED OPPORTUNITIES TO AMPLIFY AND CLARIFY

THEIR IDEAS BUT HAVE DECLINED TO DO SO. AS PRESENTED, THE SOVIET PROPOSALS DO NOT PROVIDE A POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS.

4. FURTHER, THE SOVIET INITIATIVE IN NO WAY FITS THE PATTERN FOR MULTILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION DESIRED BY THE ALLIES AND WESTERN NEUTRALS. WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY STATED THAT TO BE EFFECTIVE THE BASKET II PROVISIONS MUST RESULT IN ACTUAL COOPERATION HAVING PRACTICAL UTILITY. IN FACT, EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION OF BASKET II PROVISIONS HAS BEEN MIXED AT BEST.

5. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR EASTERN COLLEAGUES HAVE LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THE CONGRESSES WOULD BE HELD OUTSIDE THE ECE. THE ALLIED (AND OVERALL WESTERN) VIEW, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS BEEN AND SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE THAT THE SOVIET CONGRESSES IDEA REMAINS TOO VAGUE FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION AT THIS TIME AND THAT THE FINAL ACT CLEARLY POINTS TO THE ECE AS THE CHIEF FORUM FOR PURSUING MULTILATERAL BASKET II IMPLEMENTATION. THAT POSITION WAS REITERATED BY ALL ECE MEMBERS IN DECISION D(XXXI) ADOPTED AT THE COMMISSION'S 31ST SESSION. THIS CONTINUES TO BE THE VIEW OF THE US.

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6. DESPITE THIS WESTERN POSITION, THE SOVIETS SEEM LIKELY TO CONTINUE PUSHING THEIR CONGRESSES PROPOSAL. IN THIS SITUATION, THE ALLIES NEED A STRATEGY DESIGNED TO DEFLECT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. THE US SUGGESTS A WESTERN RESPONSE FOCUSsing ON THE ENVIRONMENT.

7. IN THE AREA OF THE ENVIRONMENT, TWO SPECIFIC TOPICS STEMMING FROM THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT HAVE FIGURED IN THE ECE/SAEP WORK PROGRAM AND ARE OF PRIORITY WESTERN INTEREST. THESE ARE: LONG-RANGE TRANSPORT OF AIR POLLUTANTS AND HOW GOVERNMENTS MIGHT BETTER PREDICT ENVIRONMENTAL CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS. THESE TOPICS AND THEIR INTER-RELATIONSHIP ARE OF IMPORTANCE TO THE WEST AND LEND THEMSELVES TO USEFUL INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE ECE. ALONG THESE LINES, FOR EXAMPLE, NORWAY HAS PROPOSED A POST-BELGRADE ECE CONFERENCE TO "ESTABLISH HARMONIZED CONTROL MEASURES FOR THE EMISSIONS OF AIR POLLUTANTS," AS IS WELL KNOWN TO THE ALLIES. THE US HAS FULLY SUPPORTED THIS PROPOSAL. IT MAY BE NOTED THAT FINLAND HAS ALREADY RESPONDED DIRECTLY AND FORMALLY TO THE SOVIET IDEA, CONCURRING IN THE ENVIRONMENT THEME.

8. CONCERNING THE ENERGY TOPIC, HOWEVER, THE MAIN FOCUS FOR COOPERATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIALIZED WESTERN NATIONS

HAS BEEN AND WILL REMAIN THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY (IEA). ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY NEW INSTITUTIONS--EVEN AD HOC CONGRESSES--WOULD INEVITABLY COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS BOTH WITHIN THE IEA AND IN POSSIBLE FURTHER DIALOGUES WITH THE OPEC AND NON-OIL PRODUCING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE ENERGY CONFERENCE IDEA ALSO CREATES PROBLEMS IN THE ECE CONTEXT, SINCE THERE IS NO ONE ECE PSB DEALING WITH ENERGY GENERALLY OR WITH OIL IN PARTICULAR. SIMILARLY, IN THE TRANSPORT FIELD THERE ARE NUMEROUS PROBLEMS FOR ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE ALLIES.

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9. THE US NOTES THAT MR. STANOVNIK IN HIS DOCUMENT E/ECE/911 OF JANUARY 13, 1977, ENTITLED "THE FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE," HAS SET OUT A NUMBER OF AREAS WHERE HE FEELS HEIGHTENED ECE ACTIVITIES ARE REQUIRED. THE FIRST OF THESE IS THE ENVIRONMENT. (THE NEXT TWO ARE TRANSPORT AND ENERGY.) HE SUGGESTS THAT "OCCASIONAL MEETINGS OF MINISTERS IN INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC SECTORS TO CONSIDER A PRECISE AND CAREFULLY PREPARED AGENDA MIGHT PROVE VALUABLE." IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT HIS INTENT IS TO TRANSFORM THE SOVIET INITIATIVE, TO WED IT TO THE ECE, AND TO EMPHASIZE THE LEAST CONTROVERSIAL

AREA--ENVIRONMENT--OF THE THREE PROPOSED BY THE SOVIETS.

10. HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS, SENSING STANOVNIK'S MOTIVES, WILL LIKELY REJECT HIS APPROACH AS AN UNACCEPTABLE ADULTERATION OF THEIR INITIAL IDEA, THE MORE SO SINCE BREZHNEV'S PERSONAL PRESTIGE IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONGRESSES PROPOSAL. THUS, WE WOULD EXPECT THE SOVIET UNION TO PRESS FOR APPROVAL OF ITS CONGRESSES AT THE ECE MEETING (ALTHOUGH IT DOES NOT WANT THEM TO BE ECE CONFERENCES). THE STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE AT MR. STANOVNIK'S MARCH 3 LUNCHEON WOULD APPEAR TO CONFIRM THIS VIEW.

11. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE US COULD ENVISAGE A WESTERN NEGOTIATING STANCE AT THE ECE MEETING CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

A) A CALL FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MANY EXISTING BASKET II PROVISIONS ESPECIALLY THOSE FOR WHICH THE ECE'S RESPONSIBILITY WAS CONFIRMED AT ITS 31ST SESSION IN RESOLUTIONS I(XXXI) AND DECISION D(XXXI), BEFORE CONSIDERATION IS GIVEN TO OTHER POSSIBLE COOPERATION MEASURES, ESPECIALLY THOSE NOT FORESEEN IN THE FINAL ACT.  
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B) REITERATION OF WESTERN DETERMINATION TO KEEP THE ECE AS THE FOCAL POINT FOR MULTILATERAL BASKET II ACTIVITIES.

C) APPRECIATION FOR MR. STANOVNIK'S INNOVATIVE IDEAS AS SET OUT IN DOCUMENT E/ECE/911 SUGGESTING THE NEED FOR APPROPRIATE HIGH-LEVEL ECE ATTENTION TO CERTAIN SUBSTANTIVE TOPICS.

D) IN THAT CONNECTION, AGREEMENT BY THE WEST TO HEIGHTENED ECE WORK IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL FIELD AIMED AT ADDRESSING PRIORITY PROBLEMS AND REINFORCING ONGOING WORK IN THOSE AREAS IN THE SAEP.

E) SUCH AN APPROACH, I.E. WILLINGNESS TO EXAMINE THE NEED AND POSSIBILITIES FOR INCREASED COOPERATION IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL FIELD, CONSTITUTES THE WEST'S RESPONSE AT THE ECE 32ND SESSION TO THE SOVIET INITIATIVE.

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R 152139Z MAR 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 055312

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 55312 ACTION ALL NATO CAPITALS NATO  
GENEVA EC BRUSSELS INFO BELGRADE BERLIN USBERLIN BERN BUCHAREST  
BUDAPEST HELSINKI MADRID MOSCOW NICOSIA OECD PARIS PRAGUE SOFIA  
STOCKHOLM USUN VALLETTA VIENNA WARSAW DTD 12 MAR

QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 055312

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECE, CSCE, PFOR, UR, SENV, ETRN, ENRG

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2964784  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, SENV, ETRN, ENRG, UR, ECE, CSCE  
**To:** ALL NATO CAPITALS NATO MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
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EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
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